2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

601 614 selves as the offspring of the mythical Omogoi-bai, in spite of the fact that they originate from his daughter, who married a Tatar or a Buryat.

583 591 606 To the end of the eighteenth century, there remained in vogue among the Yakut the custom of concession of wives. Formerly the bridegroom lived permanently in the house of his father-in-law, but in more recent times he lived there only for a definite period.

The *kalym*, or bride-price, replaced the system of marriage by capture. The origin of the *kalym* may be seen in the simulated enmity of the mother-in-law and the son-in-law.

583 587 837 842 A matriarchal system presupposes looseness of sex relations. The chastity of girls in rich families is not a question of morality but of *kalym* The *kalym* for a widow or a girl who has had children is low. In the case of a widow, the belief in the right of the deceased husband may limit the number of wooers. A girl with a child, however, is sometimes preferred as a guaranty against barrenness which the Yakut dislike. In Yakut tales, the guest does not ask, "Where shall I sleep?", but, "Where do you put your guests?" and then they are shown to the beds of the girls. This is a form of hospitable hetaerism.

212 592 595 As the ancient Yakut had no written records, we know very little of their former life and particularly of their internal organization. Our information may be summarized in the following.

A household or yard was called *yal;* a group of individuals, who formed a family, as well as each member of the group, was called *körgön*. The family consisted of blood relatives as well as of relatives by marriage: sons-in-law, wives (polygamy), adopted children, laborers, and slaves of both sexes. When the Yakut polygamist had several wives, he had several *yals*.

567 592 601 888 At the head of the family was the *aga*, meaning primarily "elder in age" and then "father." All the people of the household were regarded as and called by him "my children," "my sons or my daughters." Among these were included not only his own children, but also all relatives by blood and marriage, by adoption, by purchase (slaves), and any other dependents, as war captives. The *aga* continued to rule as long as he preserved his physical and mental abilities. According to a Yakut tradition, aged parents and also sick and crippled people, unable to work, were doomed to die and were even buried alive after three days of abundant entertainment.

181 888 Trostchansky, who lived as a political exile among the Yakut for about twenty years, characterizes them as egoistical utilitarians.[1] He

[1] Trostchansky, V. F., Notes on the Yakut of the Yakutsk District (*Memoirs, Imperial Society for Archaeology, History, and Ethnography*, vol. 27, parts 2–4, Kasan, 1911, in Russian), 97.

6: Sauer--113-114 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 161, 464, 591

"To my certain knowledge, upwards of 1500 Yakuti are hired as labourers by the inhabitants of the town of Yakutsk; their wives dwell with the tribes, and do not see their husbands for years. However, I have some other [114] reasons, which will be mentioned hereafter, to account for the decrease in the population of this nation."

6: Sauer--128-129 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-1-2
116, 585, 591

"The kalym and kurim [RCH: purchase and bride-price] are then carried, without any ceremony, and delivered in the presence of many friends, who are feasted, and the bridegroom remains again three or four days, and fixes a time to receive the bride at his own dwelling, which must be new built on purpose, and this also at the new or full moon. All her relations, male and female, with friends and neighbours, sometimes more than a hundred, accompany the bride with her father and mother, taking with them eight or ten symirs full of melted butter, and the dressed meat of three fat mares. They go to the new hut prepared for them; three men are sent to the bridegroom in his old hut, and the greatest drinkers are chosen for this purpose. On entering, the first says, 'We are come to see your dwelling, and to fix posts before your door.' They then kneel on one knee before the fire. An ayach (1) is filled with koumis, and handed

1. An urn-shaped wooden vessel with three legs, which contains from two to four gallons.

by two men to the three kneeling, each of whom empties an ayach at three draughts. They then rise and go out, all the company saluting them with one cheer. Three others enter; the first with nine sables, the second with nine foxes, and the third with 27 ermine skins: these they hang on a peg in the chief corner of the hut, and retire.

6: Sauer--128-129 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-2
116, 585, 591

Then a number of women conduct the bride, her face being covered with ermine skins, to the hut; the entrance has a wooden bar placed across it, but of no strength, which the bride breaks with her breast, and enters the hut. She is placed before the fire, holding her hands open before her, into which seven pieces of sticks are put; as also several pieces of butter, which she throws into the fire. The shaman pronounces a blessing; she then rises, and is again con-[129]ducted, with her face concealed all the while, to the new hut, where the cover is taken from her face. The bridegroom enters, and feasts his guests two days; then presents all his relations with cattle, over and above the kalim; which is, however, returned, on paying their formal visits, perhaps a year or more afterwards."

7: Shklovsky -- 51-52 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 585, 591

"Dinner is offered to the guests, after which the bride and bridegroom are put to bed in the same hut. Etiquette requires that the husband should return next day to his home, subsequently visiting his wife in secret.

The same procedure had taken place five years [52] ago at the wedding of Moksogol's son. He had now concluded the payments of the bride's purchase-money, and, having saddled his best horse, set out upon his journey."

19: Kharuzin -- 55-56 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut -1-3
116, 421, 591, 594

Upon coming of age, the Yakut, if married, seeks to separate from the paternal household and establish his own. The allotment made to the son depends on the will of the father, who has the right to make an allotment to a son even during the lifetime of the grandfather, if the father is simultaneously the manager of the household. Although the size of the son's share is fixed by the father, from the Yakut point of view the father cannot deprive his son of a share in the family property except in cases of insulting conduct on the part of the son toward the father or where the son arbitrarily leaves the family. In the latter instance, the eldest member of the family, whether the father or someone else, can let the wayward son depart without a share in the family property, permitting him to take only his personal property and the dowry of his wife.

In cases of insulting conduct on the part of the son toward the father, the son is deprived of any right to the family property, as a useless or even harmful member of the family community; in cases of arbitrary departure, his right to the property suffers only temporarily, for upon the death of the father he has the right to secure his own share.

Once having made an allotment to a son, the father no longer has the right to take back the alloted property. Inasmuch as the allotments are customarily made in the degree that the sons come of age and get married, it is quite natural that the division of the family property during the life of the father does not take place at one time. The member of the family who receives his share now sets up his own yurt and farmstead. Inasmuch

as the summer pastures and farm lands are not divided according to the number of souls, the Yakut can set up his yurt anywhere on the land. The cheapness of construction of Yakut dwelling and household structures has the consequence that these do not enter into the division, inasmuch as the construction of a new winter and summer yurt requires neither great labor nor expense. The separated son sets up his own household completely independent; he severs all property ties with his father and remaining brothers, and upon the death of his father he receives no share in the division of the family property.

Having made allotments to all his sons, the father has left for himself [56] a certain share of the general property, which he can divide before his death among the future lagatees, or he can - and in this we note the influence of the new conditions of life of the Yakuts - in theory deprive the direct heirs of their inheritance and transfer his own share to other persons or will his property for the saying of prayers for his soul or for works of charity. The limitations upon the rights of the testator will be indicated below.

Frequent allotments, constituting a routine phenomenon in the Yakut family, give property relations between parents and children a definite imprint: the authority of the father over the person of the son ends with his receipt of an allotment, and each Yakut seeks for an allotment as soon as he is married or has come of age. Thus, although in theory the legal views of the Yakuts assign considerable authority to the father, in practice the latter principally functions only in relation to his under-age or bachelor sons, which to a considerable extent undermines the patriarchal character of the Yakut family.

19: Kharuzin -- 55-56 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-3
116, 421, 591, 594

The conditions of a semi-nomadic life undoubtedly ease the problems of family property division, and among the Yakuts one notes a phenomenon that is not without interest: the dominance of the so-called "small family" in a situation in which traces of clan existence are still very much alive.